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A Primer of the Peace Movement

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A PRIMER OF THE PEACE MOVEMENT

BY

LUCIA AMES MEAD

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AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY
BOSTON, 1904

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Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead.
Oct. 9, 1904.

The following passages contain the revised text made for the illustrated exhibit of the American Peace Society at the World's Fair, St. Louis, 1904.

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The Practical Program for World Organization.

Already Achieved.

1. The establishment of representative government in recent times in all Christendom except Russia, and the peaceful union of small states to form larger ones, as in Italy and Germany.

2. The establishment of a World Court at the Hague in 1901, to settle disputes between nations which desire to use it, as the United States Supreme Court settles disputes between our states.

Yet to be Achieved.

3. The establishment of general arbitration treaties between all nations, pledging reference of all disputes to the World Court, as a few nations already have done.

4. The establishment of a Stated World Congress, at first only advisory, but gradually increasing its powers and evolving a code of international law.

5. Gradual proportionate disarmament, following the lead already taken by Chile and Argentina.

6. A small armed international police force. This may not do away with the use of militia or with the possibility of civil war for an indefinite period; but it will end in a comparatively short time our barbarous international duels, by providing an effective substitute.

War's Decrease.

"History is the record of the decline of war, but the slow decline."—*Emerson.*

War was once universal. Now it is exceptional. There were Seven Years' Wars, Thirty Years' Wars, One Hundred Years' Wars. Union of tribes into small states, of these into larger ones, as in ancient France and England, in America and modern Germany and Italy, enlarged the areas in which was peace. This reduced the annoyance of custom-houses, different coinage, etc., and transferred many men from destructive to constructive work.

The cruelties of war are lessening. Women and children are no longer slaughtered or sold into slavery; looting has decreased; the hospital service has enormously improved. The United States has just abolished giving prizes to naval men for victories.

Long-range guns firing at unseen enemies lessen the beastly ferocity of old-time hand-to-hand encounters. Plainer uniforms for soldiers, greater opportunity for travel and adventure outside the army, make army life less attractive. More acquaintance and commerce with foreign peoples and a growing trust in arbitration make war seem more senseless and futile. The increased cost, not only of war, but of standing armies and navies, is compelling tax-payers to rebel at seeing their hard-earned money needlessly thrown away.

A first class battleship ($6,500,000) costs more than the valuation of all the land and the 94 buildings of Harvard University, plus all the land and buildings of both the Hampton and Tuskegee Institutes. New inventions force a battleship out of service in thirteen years.

History of Arbitration.

Since John Jay was burned in effigy in Boston for putting an arbitration clause into our treaty with England in 1797, there have been two hundred and fifty international disputes settled by arbitration or by special commissions. From 1814 to 1840 there were only twenty-four such settlements; but the rate of increase was so rapid that in 1901, 1902 and 1903 there were sixty-three.

All but the two cases recently sent to the new World Court at the Hague were settled by special courts arranged for the occasion. Hereafter the Permanent World Court will settle the most of such cases. America had the honor of opening the Hague Court. The first case sent to it was the "Pious Fund" case between the United States and Mexico. The second was the Venezuela case, to which eleven nations were parties. The third case is between Japan and England, France and Germany.

At the Pan-American Congress held in Mexico in 1901 and 1902, all the Central and South American States asked for admission to the Hague Court. Ten of them went further, and signed a treaty to settle their mutual difficulties by arbitration. Forty nations of the two hemispheres have now no excuse for war with each other.

The Hague Conference.

On May 18, 1899, one hundred delegates of the twenty-six nations that had representatives at St. Petersburg met in a palace at the Hague to consider the Czar's rescript issued in August, 1898. The mightiest monarch in Christendom, appalled that the increased cost of armaments was bringing about the very results armies were formed to avert, had urged the nations to discuss gradual proportionate disarmanent. For three months the Conference worked steadily on its problems.

The Permanent Tribunal.

The services rendered by the English, French and other commissioners was very great. Vast numbers of letters and telegrams were sent from America to Andrew D. White and the other American delegates at the Hague; and at a critical moment this strong expression of American opinion had great weight. Though disarmament was not definitely arranged for, a Permanent International Tribunal, as the necessary first step towards it, was agreed on by all delegates. They also arranged methods of conciliation between the signatory powers.

Their achievement was the greatest of the kind in human history. The delegates, who had met with misgivings, like those at our Constitutional Convention in 1787, parted in confidence and hope.

The Hague Court was opened in April, 1901. A fine mansion was purchased for it — to be used until the noble Temple of Peace provided by Mr. Carnegie is completed — and a permanent secretary installed. It has now a board of sixty-nine judges from the twenty-two countries that ratified the Conventions. China, Turkey, Persia, and Montenegro have not yet ratified. These judges remain at home until selected to try a case. Recourse to the Hague Court is optional until nations pledge themselves by arbitration treaties to use it.

A Stated International Congress.

Since 1875 thirty-three International Congresses have been held, three of these in Washington, and one, a Pan-American Conference, in Mexico. These have considered matters relating to postal service, weights and measures, laws of war, sanitation, quarantine, commerce, etc. These congresses meeting irregularly have grown more and more quasi-legislative, and treaties and conventions are often based on their action.

The world's business now demands that a regular International Congress, composed of representatives of the various governments should be arranged, to meet at definite intervals, to consider increasingly complex international interests and to make recommendations which would become law when ratified by the nations thus represented.

The Massachusetts Legislature in 1903 unanimously petitioned Congress, to authorize the President to invite the nations to establish such a Congress. This would forestall evils, remove friction, develop international law, and lessen the likelihood of war; and it might eventually become a genuine Parliament of Nations. It is one of the next great steps toward the Organization of the World.

Statesmen and Jurists.

The Interparliamentary Union, composed of members of parliaments of different nations, held its annual meeting in St. Louis in September, 1904. Congress voted $50,000 for the entertainment of the foreign delegates to it. It was founded by W. R. Cremer, M.P., who received in 1904 the annual prize of about $40,000 left by the Swedish inventor, Nobel, to be given to the person who had done the most to promote peace. The Union, founded in 1888, has met at Rome, Berne, the Hague, Brussels, Buda-Pesth, Christiania, Paris and Vienna. Every European nation except Spain has a parliamentary arbitration group. Our Congress has just formed one. The French Assembly's group numbers two hundred members.

The International Law Association was opened in 1873, and has a membership of about four hundred jurists and publicists. It is a strong factor in developing international law and promoting better international relations.

United States judges in the Hague Court: Chief Justice Fuller, Judge George C. Gray, Hon. Oscar S. Straus, ex-Attorney-General Griggs.

JEAN DE BLOCH.

Eminent Economist, Financier, and Russian Imperial Councillor.

Born near Warsaw in 1836. Died in 1902.

He was a poor Polish Jew who, by rare ability, rose to wealth and power. As an administrator of railroads, he studied war as affected by food and transportation. His great work, "The Future of War," in six volumes, based on the researches of many experts, is a scientific demonstration of the futility of war to-day when waged between equal powers. The last volume summing up his conclusions is in English.* Bloch's book was one of the causes of the Czar's calling the Hague Peace Conference. Bloch met and influenced the delegates at the Hague; and in lectures in Paris and London he exerted a wide influence.

Next to Grotius' great book upon "The Rights of War and Peace," two hundred and fifty years ago, "The Future of War" is destined more than any other work to revolutionize men's attitude toward war. Prepared by a keen business man, the main argument should be understood by every business man and voter.

*Sold at cost price by Messrs. Ginn & Co., 29 Beacon Street, Boston. 65 cents, mailed. Sumner's and Channing's Addresses on War also each for the same price.

Bloch's Arguments.

Armies used to march compactly and fire at close range. Now soldiers must be scattered over an immense front line of battle, and often fight an unseen enemy. On smokeless battlefields officers are easily picked off by sharpshooters. Modern artillery is fifteen times as deadly as in 1870. Shells break into twelve times as many pieces as they did then. Shrapnel fire scatters nine times as many death-dealing missiles. The modern rifle fires missiles that can pierce several bodies, and even trees. Nurses and ambulances cannot be protected under the deadly fire of long-range guns. The wounded may lie for days unattended. Military training and mechanical obedience will count less in the future. War will be more of the guerilla type. Individual initiative and ingenuity are what will count. Much larger bodies, very unwieldy and difficult to feed and direct, will face each other. War on a great scale to-day implies such gigantic economic disaster as means national ruin for both combatants and loss to all the world. Dead men and beggars are poor customers.

Conditions governing war have fundamentally changed since smokeless powder and long range, rapid-firing guns mowing down everything in a straight line instead, as formerly, throwing bullets in a curve, make direct fighting so deadly that armies must remain distant, and will use intrenchments far more than ever. Future war will be long drawn out in marchings and weary sieges. Few nations raise as much of their own food as formerly, and, to win, attacking forces should now be ten times as large as the defensive. The economic strain of sustaining these vast, complex mechanisms of war will disorganize industry and commerce, and bring bankruptcy and famine. When nations are unequal, the stronger will at last exhaust the weaker, as in the Philippine and Boer wars, but at far greater delay and cost than formerly. England spent ten times as much in killing less than 4,000 Boers in battle as the United States spent during the American Revolution. Future war between equal forces will bankrupt both, under modern conditions, and decide nothing.

Peace Congresses.

The first International Peace Congress was planned in Boston, and held in London in 1843. Of its 300 delegates, 30 were from the United States. The second received its impulse from Elihu Burritt, and was held in Brussels in 1848. The third, in Paris, in 1849, had an attendance of 2,000, and was presided over by Victor Hugo. The fourth was in Frankfort in 1850; and the fifth in London in 1851. Burritt was an active promoter of all of these last.

The Peace Congresses were revived in 1889, and have been held in London, Rome, Berne, Chicago, Antwerp, Buda-Pesth, Hamburg, Paris, Glasgow, Monaco, and Rouen. The last Congress received marked attention from the French government. Since its meeting in 1903, ten European nations have signed arbitration treaties pledging reference to the Hague Court; and France and England, unfriendly to each other for centuries, have quietly settled by diplomacy a half-dozen matters any one of which in former days might have led to war. The mere fact of a World Court being ready to hear cases will cause many cases to be peaceably settled out of court.

The Congress of 1904 met in Boston, the first week in October.

The New World's Work for Peace.

A century before the Czar's rescript, Jefferson, Samuel Adams, Washington, and Franklin were zealous advocates of peace.*

The United States led the world in organized work for peace. We established three Peace Societies in 1815,— the first in the world. A great wave of peace effort spread over the country during the next generation. Noah Worcester, Channing, Sumner, William Ladd, Elihu Burritt, were among its leaders. The International Peace Congresses had their inception in Boston. Here, too, were taken the first steps toward forming the International Law Association of four hundred jurists,— one of the foremost agencies for the world's peace. Sixty years ago agitation for arbitration was so common here that Europeans called it "the American Way."

In 1900 Argentina and Chile were on the verge of war over territorial boundary disputes; but a revulsion of feeling, originating in the noble protest of an eloquent bishop in Argentina, led to an agreement to arbitrate their difficulties. Since the arbitration, which satisfied both countries, both have begun disarmament. Chile has turned an arsenal into a trade school, is teaching science more than military tactics to her cadets, and has already spent on good roads ten million dollars received from the sale of warships. In March, 1904, upon a mountain pass on the lofty Andes boundary line there was erected a colossal bronze statue of Christ, as a memorial of the compact of perpetual peace between these nations, and as a better guardian of the border than a cordon of fortresses.

* See some of their trenchant and little known statements in Edwin D. Mead's "The Principles of the Founders."

Some Causes of War.

A military class ambitious for activity and promotion.

Contempt for peoples who have not white skins.

Lack of power to put one's self in another's place, and of will to do justice.

Ignorant and perverse interpretation of the Bible, judging God's will by ancient Israel's barbaric deeds instead of by Christ's spirit.

Greed for high interest, which war loans provide. Rich investors have much political power, and are made richer by war, while the masses are impoverished. Most wars would end quickly, were war loans impossible.

"The vast expenditure on armaments, the costly wars, the grave risks and embarrassments of foreign policy, the stoppage of political and social reforms within Great Britain, though fraught with injury to the nation, have served well the business interests of certain industries and professions."— *The English Economist, Hobson.*

"That original sin of nations,— the greed of territorial aggrandizement."— *Gladstone.*

"You push into territories where you have no business to be and where you had promised not to go. Your intrusion provokes resentment, and resentment means resistance. You instantly cry out that the people are rebellious, in spite of your own assurance that you have no intention of setting up a permanent sovereignty over them. You send a force to stamp out the rebellion. Having spread bloodshed, confusion, and anarchy, you declare, with hands uplifted to the heavens, that moral reasons force you to stay. These are the five stages in the Forward Rake's Progress."— *John Morley.*

Investors. Foreign investments are enormously increasing in weak and poorly governed countries. Poor Asiatics are supposed to be better customers than our own negroes and poor whites and South Americans. Put this year's naval budget into Southern schools, create new wants and resources, and we should have immensely larger sales near home.

The Sensational Press. It enlarges on every misunderstanding and evil rumor. It exaggerates and distorts news with false head-lines,— anything to create a fever, sell papers, and coin money. Its readers are fooled, and fooled all the time.

What Might Have Been.

Three weeks before Paul Kruger's "ultimatum," Joseph Chamberlain refused to refer the difficulties to an arbitration board of two Dutch and three British chief justices. Had he done so, England would have saved three years of bitterness, a set-back to all local progress and reform, and the hatred of a people who lost 20,000 women and children in concentration camps; she would have saved $1,100,000,000, which might have given that third of England's population who are living in dire poverty on less than $6 a week per *family* the following things: —

100 Old People's Homes, at $100,000 each.
1,000 Public Playgrounds, at $50,000 each.
1,000 Public Libraries, at $50,000 each.
1,000 Trade Schools, at $200,000 each.
500 Hospitals, at $200,000 each.
3,000 Public Schools, at $100,000 each.
150,000 Workingmen's Houses, at $2,000 each.

Two years after the war, England was paying $400,000 a week to keep up her present army in South Africa, where free speech is still denied, while one quarter of her own people at home go hungry. The cheap Chinese labor, now being imported by the mine operators in the face of the protest of the South African people, makes the condition of the "Outlanders" to-day vastly worse than that for the pretended relief of which the British Government entered upon the war.

Common Fallacies.

That armies and navies are but national police, and will be needed as long as police are. Police and armies have totally different functions. Police will be needed until the millennium. Militia will be needed as long as there are rioters and lynchers; but armies and navies might be banished in the immediate future. Police do not punish criminals, but use only that minimum of force necessary to bring them to an impartial court. Armies and navies, on the contrary, settle cases themselves by sheer brute force, without reference to evidence or justice. National armies and navies will diminish gradually, to be replaced at last by a small international armed police. The united action of European and Japanese troops at Pekin foreshadowed this.

That armies and navies are useful in giving employment. So is a Baltimore fire or Galveston flood. The murder of President McKinley gave work to doctors, bands, undertakers, florists, and reporters. The many suffer while a few temporarily gain.

That barrack drill educates slovenly peasants into clean, well-disciplined men. Were there no armies, hundreds of millions more dollars every year could be turned into schools, with proper physical training, and eventually there would be no ill-fed, slovenly classes left.

That a military expert knows the nation's military needs better than other men do. As well ask an architect whether you need a house, or a dressmaker whether you need a gown, as to ask a soldier whether we need more armaments. It is human nature to magnify one's profession and to want large appropriations. The soldier gets no glory or promotion in time of peace, and naturally wants something to do. The business man is a far more impartial judge of the nation's danger from foreign jealousy.

That we need a larger navy to keep the peace. Our navy in efficiency is already second only to England's. Our outlay for it has increased seven hundred per cent. since 1886. We are going wildly beyond the needs of defence, are becoming aggressive, and are arousing suspicion and jealousy. Canada and other friendly states call for larger armaments to match our new ones. Our rich, safe nation, without enemies except those we provoke, of all others can best afford to lead the world toward disarmament.

That war kills off surplus population. There is none. The earth is very sparsely settled, and is incalculably rich in resources. We have only begun to see the possibilities of scientific farming. All the population of the globe could be put into Texas, and allow a half-acre to each family.

Common Fallacies.

"*You can't change human nature.*" All history gives this fallacy the lie. Nothing in the world is changing faster than human tastes and activities. If our bad instincts cannot be wholly rooted out, they can be kept dormant. Emerson and Lincoln showed better than their savage, tattooed ancestors what human nature is.

"*In time of peace prepare for war.*" This means, when you are friendly with a neighbor; build up a wall between you; be on the alert for insults, and prepare to knock him down. Since opening the Hague Court, the motto for sane nations is, "In time of peace prepare by treaties to refer every grievance to the World Court."

War prevents stagnation, and makes nations brave and strong. Famines, fires, and floods bring out bravery in some men also. Shall we therefore desire them? War makes far more men immoral, diseased, and cruel than it makes brave and noble. Bravery in battle does not imply courage to vote an unpopular ticket, to do business honestly, or to be brave outside of war. War skims off the cream of manly vigor, and leaves a skim-milk nation to produce a weaker race. Napoleon's wars destroyed the strength of France. The French physique has been inferior ever since.* Spain's chronic wars have left an enfeebled race.

Nothing but blood can wipe out blood. This is a savage and silly superstition. As well say that only ink can wipe out ink.

Nations will never arbitrate questions of honor or of vital importance. The armed cavalier who fought duels at the slightest provocation, two hundred years ago, thought no court could settle a question of his honor. His descendants, who carry no swords, pick fewer quarrels, and settle even the most vital ones in court. Nations will gradually follow suit, now that they, for the first time, have a World Court. The sceptics in 1901 said the Hague Court would amount to nothing; but its first case was begun in much shorter time than our Supreme Court at Washington had to wait for its first case. Within the century the World Court will become a universal substitute for international duels.

"*Trade follows the flag.*" All the statistics show the contrary. Trade goes where it finds customers. Only thirty per cent. of England's foreign trade is with her own possessions.

* See President Jordan's "The Blood of the Nation."

True and Sham Patriotism.

Patriotism is tested not by a show of bunting or making noise or by boasting of our bigness and our strength, but by daily deeds of service through good citizenship.

Flags and fire-crackers no more indicate service of country than pew-cushions and steeples indicate service of God. Pride of ancestry, interest in genealogy and colonial furniture, admiration for martial music and gold lace, are sometimes mistaken for patriotism.

Are not Americans singularly unpatriotic in time of peace,— that is, nine-tenths of the time? Our civic corruptions, due to civic apathy and general disregard of law, are making us a by-word in Christendom. Were we patriotic, Addicks would be as abhorred as Benedict Arnold. Increase of wealth and opportunity has made us selfish and indifferent to the country's dangers. The most solemn words of the year are President Roosevelt's, that there has been lately "more official corruption brought to light than in the previous century of our country's history." This means treason to the Republic. It means that we have deserters and cowards in office, factory, shop, and parlor.

"A Splendid Charge."

"There will be the full complement of backs broken in two, of arms twisted wholly off, of men impaled upon their own bayonets, of legs smashed up like bits of firewood, of heads sliced open like apples, of other heads crunched into soft jelly by the iron hoofs of horses, of faces trampled out of all likeness to anything human. This is what skulks behind 'a splendid charge.' This is what follows, as a matter of course, when our fellows rode at them in style and cut them up famously!" — *Charles Dickens.*

What Great Soldiers Have Said.

"The more I study the world, the more am I convinced of the inability of brute force to create anything durable."— *Napoleon at St. Helena.*

"My first wish is to see this plague to mankind banished from the earth," and, "although it is against the profession of arms and would clip the wings of some young soldiers soaring after glory, to see the whole world in peace and the inhabitants striving who should contribute most to the happiness of mankind." — *Washington.*

"I confess without shame that I am tired and sick of the war. Its glory is all moonshine. It is only those who have neither heard a shot nor heard the shrieks and groans of the wounded who cry aloud for more blood, more vengeance, more desolation." "War is hell."— *General Sherman.*

"War will eliminate itself. . . . By the next centennial, arbitration will rule the world."— *General Sheridan.*

"The contrast between war and peace is illustrated by the fact that what has been expended on the Philippines would have put water on every quarter section of arable land in our country where it is required; it would have built for the farmers a splendid system of good roads or for commerce two ship-canals across the isthmus."— *General Miles.*

Some Famous Workers for Peace.

1. Henry IV. of France, who formed his "Great Design" for the federation of Europe.

2. Hugo Grotius. His "Rights of War and Peace," published in 1624, says Andrew D. White, "of all works not claiming to be inspired, has proved the greatest blessing to humanity."

3. William Penn in 1693 published his remarkable "Plan for the Permanent Peace of Europe."

4. Immanuel Kant, the great German philosopher. In his essay on "Eternal Peace," he showed that war would not cease until the world was organized, and that it could not be safely federated until the nations had representative government.

5. William Ellery Channing. The ablest and most strenuous supporter of peace that the American pulpit has produced.

6. Charles Sumner. In his famous address on "The True Grandeur of Nations" and other great addresses, he worked as earnestly against war as during his whole life he worked against slavery.

7. Elihu Burritt. He secured cheap ocean postage. Half a century before the Czar's rescript, he proposed a World Court. This idea was popularly known in Europe as "The American Plan."

8. Andrew Carnegie. He offered to repay the United States $20,000,000, the price paid to Spain, if our government would give the Philippines independence. He has added prestige to the Hague Court by giving $1,500,000 to erect a noble building for it and to provide in connection an international library. He has given $5,000,000 to provide pensions and rewards for Heroes of Peace.

Heroes of Peace.

Our Republic has been at peace nine-tenths of the time since its founding in 1789. It needs heroes of peace far more than heroes of war; yet civic heroism, rewarded by no medals or promotions, is far rarer than military heroism. Our greatest enemies have been not "red coats" nor "gray coats," Mexicans nor Malays, but "grafters," "boodlers," ballot-box stuffers and anarchists of all kinds, from red-handed lynchers to millionaires who bribe legislatures and judges who defeat justice by technicalities. These have attacked our honor and poisoned our life-blood in time of peace. We erect statues to military heroes; but poets, prophets, philanthropists, inventors, explorers, firemen, policemen, who sacrifice money or life in peace, are seldom so honored. We should give highest honors to the heroes who have fought our worst enemies,— corruption, ignorance, poverty, injustice. Such were Washington and Lincoln, Franklin and Jefferson, Garrison, Theodore Parker, Beecher, Channing, Sumner, Horace Mann, Elihu Burritt, General Armstrong, Colonel Waring, Harriet Beecher Stowe, and Dorothea Dix.

What Business Men Forget.

Three-fourths of the teachers of the United States are women. Their average salary is $270,— about half that of a garbage-hauler or street-sweeper. Our true national defence is not short-lived battleships, but what teachers can achieve. Our rich country, lying safely between two oceans and with no enemies on earth, spends over $8,000,000 a month upon its navy. Were this sum for only one year put into building up our men instead of building destroyers of other people's property, each one of our six million illiterates over ten years old would get a three years' schooling.

When Washington urged a "respectable defensive posture" for our government, he obtained it at $1,000,000 a year for army and navy. To-day, when population is only 20 times as great, our total outlay for national defence has increased 200 times.

Armed peace is the chief cause of poverty in Christendom. Two-thirds of the nation's revenues are, on an average, spent upon "national defence."

What Business Men Can Do.

Chambers of Commerce and Merchants' Clubs may unite to petition Congress for general arbitration treaties with every nation, and pledge reference of all international disputes to settlement by diplomacy or arbitration.

They can endow lectureships in colleges and theological schools, to provide yearly lectures on international justice and the organization of the world. Like Charles Sumner, they can provide for prizes for the best essays on Arbitration.

They might win worthy fame and perhaps change the course of history by donating the price of one battleship — $7,000,000 — to opening in each of the world's fourteen great capitals an "International Union," the building to cost $200,000, and its endowment $300,000. This would be a centre of propaganda in schools, churches, the press, and business organizations.

Syndicate articles written by experts should be sent to every newspaper. Economic facts about the cost of armed peace should be advertised everywhere. ıgenuity, common sense, and business sagacity should turn the tide from waste nd wickedness. Why are not business men more practical?

What Editors Can Do.

They can largely change the course of history by choosing how and what they will report. If they are first of all patriots, they will be as willing to sacrifice dollars from advertisers and subscribers as soldiers are to lose limb in battle when the country's welfare demands it.

They will dare write unpopular truths. They will forbid "fake" reports and misleading head-lines. They will "blue pencil" flippant comment and cynical sneers upon peace, progress, and justice. They will realize the obligation of doing the thinking for the masses, and will no more poison their minds for a few paltry dollars than they would poison their food.

They will show the relation between imperialism and militarism; they will not confound "expansion," which term refers only to area, with "imperialism," which concerns method of government.

They will show that since 1897 we have madly pushed up our total cost for army and navy 140 per cent., and will show the folly of multiplying short-lived battleships instead of putting their cost into education and the things which really make the nation strong.

What Ministers Can Do.

Preach about international relations in the spirit of Jesus Christ instead of Joshua. Always clearly explain the context of Christ's saying, "I come not to bring peace, but a sword," etc. Never permit "Boys' Brigades" in your church.

Read the history of arbitration, and consider the practical programme for the organization of the world. Preach on it at least once a year. Hold a special peace celebration every 18th of May,— the anniversary of the opening of the Hague Conference. Set people to reading Channing's, Sumner's, and Bloch's writings on peace and war. Send to the American Peace Society, 31 Beacon Street, Boston, for these and other literature at cost price.

Show how the common misapprehension of the doctrine of the "survival of the fittest" results in cruelty and arrogance towards weak nations.*

*Read Kropotkin's "Mutual Aid a Factor in Evolution."

What Parents Can Do.

Permit drums and trumpets, color, music, marching, "dressing up," all that is harmless about military display; but never allow toy guns or soldiers or playing at killing. As well give children toy coffins, and let them play "hanging," as to permit the ghastly business of shooting human beings to be associated with riotous sport and pleasure.

Get your neighborhood to redeem the Fourth of July. Substitute beautiful pageants for dangerous sports and lawlessness. Put copies of Verestchagin's pictures of war in your son's room, if he is inflamed with the military spirit. Cultivate imagination,— putting one's self in the "other fellow's" place.

Select the newspapers your children read, and avoid letting them read details of current wars. These excite, but do not educate immature minds. Discuss politics, world movements, and race prejudices with your boys and girls as if they were as vital as family affairs. Show that you covet for them a keen sense of justice more than high marks or prizes. Teach them that the true culture "counts nothing human foreign."

What Teachers Can Do.

1. Children are natural partisans. Make plain to them that the American Revolution was not a conflict between America as a whole and England as a whole, but between the Liberal and Tory parties in both countries. Let pupils memorize noble passages from Chatham, Burke, and others who sided with us against King George. Also have them memorize Longfellow's "The Arsenal at Springfield," and similar poems.

2. Enlarge on the causes and results of wars, but not on details of campaigns. Show that loyalty to truth and justice is more than loyalty to any man or race or place or party.

3. Choose carefully the pictures for your school-room.

4. Teach the history and significance of arbitration. Teach graphically what *a million* means. Few adults have any conception of it. Utilize for arithmetical problems some of the significant statistics on the cost and waste of war and armed peace. Never let children sing without protest such words as "The army and navy forever," or "Then conquer we must, for our cause it is just." This is false. In war, justice does not imply success. The strong wins. Read Zola's novel, "The Downfall," and Baroness von Suttner's "Lay down your Arms."

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